

Message Text

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EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (OMISSION PARA 2)

E. O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, NATO, UR

SUBJECT: CSCE: CBM' S: POLICY ON MILITARY " MOVEMENTS"

HELSINKI FOR VEST

1. AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, YOU SHOULD MEET WITH MENDELEVICH TO DISCUSS INCLUSION OF TERM " MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS" IN CBM' S, MAKING POINTS CONTAINED IN PARA 3 BELOW. (BEGIN FYI: BASED ON INDICATIONS WE HAVE RECEIVED, SOVIETS WILL NOT RPT NOT ACCEPT " MOVEMENTS." HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT YOU MAKE A STRONG CASE TO MENDELEVICH ON THIS ISSUE IN ORDER TO PROVIDE A BASIS FOR PROPOSING TO ALLIES THAT THEY PUT FORWARD A COMPROMISE FORMULATION

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DESIGNED TO WORK TOWARD AGREEMENT. END FYI.)

2. YOU SHOULD REPORT FULLY TO DEPARTMENT MENDELEVICH'S REACTIONS, AND ANY SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR POSSIBLE COMPROMISE, TOGETHER WITH YOUR RECOMMENDATIONS. THEREAFTER, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT YOUR VIEWS, WE WOULD ENVISAGE FOLLOWING POSSIBLE SCENARIO. IF, AS WE ANTICIPATE, SOVIET REACTION IS ENTIRELY NEGATIVE, UPON RECEIPT OF AUTHORIZATION FROM DEPARTMENT, YOU WOULD BRIEF ALLIED DELS ON YOUR MEETING WITH MENDELEVICH, STRESSING THAT YOU HAD MADE VIGOROUS ATTEMPT TO BRING SOVIETS TO AGREE TO INCLUSION OF "MOVEMENTS," AND THAT SOVIETS WILL NOT AGREE. YOU WOULD FURTHER EXPRESS OUR VIEW THAT WESTERN INTEREST IN THIS QUESTION SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARDS SUBSTANCE AND NOT TOWARDS POINTLESS DEBATE OVER DEFINITIONS AND TERMINOLOGY, AND THAT UNDUE STRESS SHOULD NOT BE PLACED ON "MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS" ISSUE. ACCORDINGLY, ALLIES SHOULD SEEK TO FIND SUITABLE ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE FOR THE BASKET I MANDATE, WHICH WOULD PROTECT ALLIED INTERESTS, AND STILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO PACT COUNTRIES. FOR EXAMPLE, ALLIES MIGHT EMPLOY IN MANDATE PHRASE, "PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF LARGE-SCALE CHANGES IN THE LOCATION OF FORCES, INCLUDING MAJOR MANEUVERS." IF ATTEMPTS TO FIND COMPROMISE LANGUAGE PROVE UNACCEPTABLE, ALLIES WOULD STILL HAVE OPTION OF ACCEPTING SOVIET PREFERENCE IN MPT AND THEN IN THE COMMITTEE STAGE OF CSCE SEEKING TO DEFINE MANEUVERS IN A FASHION COVERING MOVEMENTS OF REAL CONSEQUENCE. IN PROPOSING AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH, YOU WOULD POINT OUT US WILLINGNESS TO WORK WITH ALLIES TO PROTECT SUBSTANTIVE ALLIED INTEREST IN THIS QUESTION, BUT POINT OUT THAT WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN A PROTRACTED TERMINOLOGICAL DISPUTE OVER MOVEMENTS, OR SEE PROGRESS IN TALKS SLOWED OVER THIS ISSUE. YOU ALSO COULD PROPOSE TO ALLIES THAT YOU DISCUSS ALTERNATIVE MANDATE LANGUAGE FOR BASKET I (ABOVE) WITH MENDELEVICH, DRAWING ON POINTS IN PARA 4, BELOW.

3. IN INITIAL DISCUSSION WITH MENDELEVICH, YOU MAY WISH TO DRAW ON FOLLOWING POINTS:

(A) IN ALLIED VIEW, CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES ARE DESIGNED TO ENHANCE THE CONFIDENCE OF THE SECRET

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PARTICIPATING STATES THAT THE MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF OTHER STATES ARE NOT THREATENING. AS SUCH, CBM'S WOULD SERVE TO SUPPORT ANY DECLARATION ON NON-USE OR THREAT OF USE OF FORCE.

(B) TO RESTRICT THE CBM'S ONLY TO MANEUVERS COULD LEAD TO AMBIGUITIES AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS WHICH

WOULD SERVE TO DECREASE RATHER THAN INCREASE CONFIDENCE.
RETENTION OF " MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS," THE MORE
ENCOMPASSING TERM, WOULD IN ALLIED VIEW ELIMINATE THIS
PROBLEM.

(C) ON THE OTHER HAND, ALLIES WOULD NOT FAVOR
SO STRICT A DEFINITION OF THE TERM " MAJOR MILITARY
MOVEMENT" THAT REQUIREMENT FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION WOULD
BE ADMINISTRATIVELY BURDENSOME AND CONFLICT WITH NORMAL,
NON- THREATENING ACTIVITIES OF THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES'
FORCES.

(D) INSTEAD, IN ALLIED VIEW, " MAJOR MILITARY
MOVEMENTS" SHOULD ENCOMPASS THOSE LARGE- SCALE DEPLOYMENTS
OF FORCES FOR WHICH CONSIDERABLE ADVANCED PLANNING IS

REQUIRED IN ANY CASE, AND WHICH CANNOT BE CONCEALED. TO
REQUIRE PRE- ANNOUNCEMENT OF SUCH MAJOR MOVEMENTS WOULD NOT
IMPOSE EXCESSIVE ADMINISTRATIVE BURDENS, AND WOULD SERVE
TO INCREASE CONFIDENCE. MOREOVER, AS ALLIES ENVISAGE
ADVANCE NOTIFICATION, THE INITIATIVE OF ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD
LIE WITH THE INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS.

(E) THE ALLIES HAVE NOT REACHED FIRM CONCLUSIONS
ON THE TYPES OF MOVEMENTS WHICH WOULD CONSTITUTE A " MAJOR
MILITARY MOVEMENT." WHILE THE SIZE OF THE MOVEMENT IN ANY
CASE WOULD HAVE TO BE QUITE LARGE, LOCATION AND OTHER
FACTORS WOULD ALSO PLAY A ROLE. IN ANY CASE, THE ALLIES
DO NOT ENVISAGE PRIOR ANNOUNCEMENT TO INHIBIT REGULAR
ACTIVITIES OF THE FORCES OF ANY GOVERNMENT.

(F) WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT T
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